1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to assume themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalz'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (taigal'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinal'yaya, hinaiya'ukia), another hiding game (tso'tsoyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[a] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ko'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In pehu"a, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest[b] ("tsohotumpesh," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[c] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpai'yayapu, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[a] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [b] *Ibid.*, p. 396. [c] *Ibid.*, 323.

4cDowns E-6 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

841 [P 382, A]
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[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2324-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women was that they must not eat meat during their periods.

[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intestinal
224 organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (2400-2440). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-

[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo,
[796] particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
● 529 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps because there was much less chance of failure than in
[789] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes
[535] dances were held to make seeds grow (2610-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-

[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

[P.372, B]

954 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

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> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

[789]

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 3562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

[607]

WAR POWER

724 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly mentions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

[754] [344] [177] [535]

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

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"This prayer" Billie [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more."

[782]

"That the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and that point. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"That everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

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Susie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1950, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers up the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, mogal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

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Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1890 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of seminunity and prosperity.

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Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Well, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

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Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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"Used in an adjectival sense. In the references below prayer is used substantively.

[124]

"No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a [illegible] although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present".

[P.383, A]

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine cutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and co... ...monial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems to his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It

[756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

[P 383, B]

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ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

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After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1960's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

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These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white man's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days.

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They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

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The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had tapped a number of trees, which she believed destroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

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There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (3421). This practice must have been occasional and relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

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/For festive activities associated with the pinenut dance, see category 535./

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsaláʔal) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 393-4) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
[415] and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
756 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through
a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman
[177] (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively
unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing ill-
ness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears
headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent re-
[242] vival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony.
Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their
livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go
to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance in-
dicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its
disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to
organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and
the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman
can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect
upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut
dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present
for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's
curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaf-
fected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The cere-
monies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty
dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes
have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The
old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female.
He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and re-
quires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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527 A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the
431 mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was par-
603 ticularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed
852 to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was
302 thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dïbek).

352 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was
854 used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back.[5] The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child
757 grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (maʔyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
531 Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
754 One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket
847 was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5 Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.
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Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family, he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it